

Message Text

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EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, NATO, US

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS-US/EC DECLARATION

1. RECENT COMMENTS WE HAVE HEARD FROM SENIOR BELGIAN POLITICAL FIGURES, PLUS A READING OF THE EC NINE OUTLINE FOR A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, LEAD US TO OFFER CERTAIN REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S CONSIDERATION.

2. IF THE EC PAPER IS SOMEWHAT LESS THAN PACE-SETTING AND COHERENT, THIS IS HARLDY SURPRISING IN VIEW OF WHAT WE KNOW OF THE NEGOTIATING DIFFICULTIES AND THE RESISTANCE OF THE FRENCH (AND PERHAPS OTHERS HIDING SILENTLY BEHIND THE FRENCH) TO ANY LANGUAGE TENDING TO GIVE THE US A VOICE IN THE DYNAMICS OF THE ALREADY TORTUOUS EUROPEAN IDENTIFICATION AND UNIFICATION PROCESS. DAVIGNON, FOR EXAMPLE, BELIEVES THAT DOCUMENTS SUCH AS THE COPENHAGEN DECLARATION CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO DO MORE THAN AFFIRM A GIVEN STATE OF AFFAIRS AND PROJECT FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS THAT CAN BE EXTRAPOLATED SAFELY FROM PAST TRENDS. GRANTED THAT ONE MIGHT HAVE HOPED FOR MORE IN THE WAY OF HARD COMMITMENTS FOR THE FUTURE, IT SEEMS TO US THAT SOME ELEMENTS IN THE COPENHAGEN STATEMENT, SUCH AS PARAGRAPHS 5 AND 6, CAN BE OF USE IN ESTABLISHING A PLATEAU FROM WHICH TO BUILD A FIRMER BASIS FOR TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION.

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3. THE RELUCTANCE OF THE EUROPEANS TO BRING DEFENSE CONSIDERATIONS INTO THE FRAMEWORK OF US-EC REATIONS IS EVIDENT. PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE DECLARATION (THE NINE AND THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY COMMENSURATE

WITH THEIR HUMAN, INTELLECTUAL, AND MATERIAL RESOURCES") IS THE WEAKEST POSSIBLE ALLUSION TO THE NEED FOR A MORE EQUITABLE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES FOR DEFENSE (IF INDEED THE NINE HAD BURDEN-SHARING IN MIND AT ALL). THE EQUATION BETWEEN SECURITY AND DETENTE IS CLEARLY AND UNFORTUNATELY WEIGHTED ON THE SIDE OF THE LATTER IN PARAGRAPH 11 ("WHILE MAINTAINING THEIR OWN SECURITY THEY ARE DETERMINED TO PURSUE A POLICY OF DETENTE AND COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES"). THE PRESENCE OF THE IRISH AND THE FIRMNESS OF THE FRENCH PRECLUDE EXPLICIT PLEDGES OF MILITARY COMMITMENT IN THE EC CONTEXT; BUT THERE IS CERTAINLY ROOM FOR A MORE SOLID STATEMENT OF THE NEED FOR STRENGTH AS A SOURCE OF OUR ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO SEEK AN EASING OF WORLD TENSIONS.

4. THE DECLARATION ACKNOWLEDGES THE INTER-DEPENDENCE EXISTING BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE IN PARAGRAPHS 5, 6 AND 14, AND THE NINE ARE ASKING FOR A SOLID US BLESSING ON THEIR EFFORTS TO ESTABLIS THE COMMUNITY AS A "DISTINCT ENTITY" (AND POTENTIAL RIVAL) IN WORLD AFFAIRS (PARAGRAPH 7). THE DOCUMENT IS MUTE ON THE US CONTRIBUTION TO THE UNITY AND PROSPERITY OF EUROPE. MOREOVER-- EXCEPT FOR THE PREAMBULAR REFERENCE (PARAGRAPH 6) TO INTENSIFYING EXISTING COOPERATION AND MAINTAINING A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE-- THERE IS NO EUROPEAN UNDERTAKING THAT WOULD PERMIT THE US TO MAKE ITS VIEWS KNOWN EFFECTIVELY BEFORE THE NINE ARRIVE AT DECISIONS BEARING ON US-EC RELATIONS OR ON IMPORTANT US INTERESTS WORLDWIDE. IT MAY BE DIFFICULT FOR THE NINE TO WRITE INTO A DECLARATION ANY PROVISION THAT WOULD OPEN THEIR DELIBERATIONS TO AN AMERICAN INPUT. NONETHELESS, WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD PRESS FOR SOME ARRANGEMENT, HOWEVER BROADLY PHRASED, THAT WOULD MOVE TOWARDS REGULAR CONSULTATION, ALLOWING THE US TO EXPRESS VIEWS TO THE NINE ON PENDING ISSUES BEFORE A BLOC VIEW IS FORMED. THIS WOULD COMPLEMENT OUR CONTINUING BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH EC MEMBERS AND FORMALIZE THE RECOGNITION OF THE INEXTRICABLE INTERESTS THAT EXIST ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC, WHILE NOT IMPEDING EC PROGRESS TOWARD UNIFICATION. THE MEETING FORESEEN BETWEEN THE NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND ASSISTANT SECRET

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SECRETARY STOESSSEL NEXT WEEK WILL BE A USEFUL(AND HISTORICAL) PRECEDENT, ALTHOUGH CONSULTATIONS COULD ALSO TAKE PLACE AT THE LEVEL OF THE EC "CORRESPONDENTS" ON A MORE REGULAR BASIS.

5. WE SHARE HARMELS'S BELIEF THAT THE WEST CANNOT AFFORD TO LONG DELAY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AGREED BASIS FOR FUTURE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS. EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ON THE WHOLE ARE NOW RULED BY RESPONSIBLE, CENTRIST GOVERNMENTS IN WHICH MINISTERS WITH A PERSONAL FAMILIARITY WITH AND APPRECIATION OF THE LESSONS OF TWENTIETH

CENTURY HISTORY STILL CONTROL THE LEVERS OF FOREIGN POLICY. BUT IT IS INEVITABLE THAT, BEFORE LONG, POWER WILL PASS TO A YOUNGER GENERATION. IN ALL LIKLIHOOD, THE NEW POLITICAL LEADERS WILL FEEL LESS BEHOLDEN TO THE US AND WILL BE LESS ALERT, AS THEY SEARCH FOR

DETENTE, TO THE IMPERATIVES OF NATIONAL AND WESTERN SECURITY.
THE HABITS OF INCREASED TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION AND INTERACTION
SHOULD GROW FROM A STATEMENT-WITH-RESONANCE OF EVER CLOSER
US-EUROPEAN INTER-DEPENDENCE. THESE HABITS MUST BE LEARNED
NOW BY THOSE WAITING IN THE WINGS BUT SOON TO BE AT CENTER STAGE.
AT THE SAME TIME, THE CONTENT OF NEW WRITTEN UNDERTAKINGS MUST
BE SUCH THAT THEY ARE NOT PERCEIVED BY THE WAITING GENERATION AS
YOKES TO BE CAST OFF UPON ACCESSION TO POWER.

6. THE TIMING OF A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AND THE ISSUANCE OF A
DECLARATION, OR DECLARATIONS, AGREEABLE TO BOTH THE US AND ITS
PARTNERS RELATES TO CONCERNS BEYOND THOSE OF POLITICAL
EVOLUTION IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE QUICKENING AND, IN SOME
QUARTERS, INTOXICATING PACE OF EAST-WEST ACCOMMODATION REQUIRES,
IT SEEMS TO US, A CONCERTED MOVE TOWARD PLACING US-EUROPEAN
RELATIONS ON A NEW PLANE IN ORDER TO INSURE THE COMPATIBILITY
OF DETENTE WITH ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.

7. THE EUROPEANS ARE ALSO PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD WITH A
DECLARATION IN NATO. IT IS CLEAR FROM EC AND NATO CONSULTATIONS
TO DATE THAT IT IS IN NATO THAT THE US STANDS THE BEST CHANCE OF
SEEING SOME OF ITS GOALS REALIZED IN THE FORM OF A SUBSTANTIVE
DECLARATION. IT IS THERE THAT WE CAN GET FROM THE EUROPEANS AN
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE NECESSARY AND DESIRABLE INTER-RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL AND SECURITY ISSUES
THAT FACE THE ATLANTIC WORLD IN THE FUTURE. MOREOVER BY
CONCENTRATING SUBSTANCE IN A NATO DECLARATION, WE ENGAGE OUR
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NON-EC EUROPEAN ALLIES AND CANADA IN A JOINT UNDERSTANDING
OF THE CHANGING NATURE OF ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIPS AND THE EFFORTS
THAT MUST BE MADE TO ACCOMMODATE THAT CHANGE.

8. IF THE US CAN ACCEPT THE IDEA OF TWO DECLARATIONS, AND IF THE
NATO DECLARATION INDEED MEETS OUR NEEDS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE SIDE,
THEN, WE BELIEVE, THE US CAN BE COMFORTABLE WITH A US-EC
DECLARATION AMENDED AS SUGGESTED ABOVE, IN WHICH THE TWO PARTIES
AFFIRM THEIR INTER-DEPENDENCE AND PLEDGE MUTUAL COOPERATION,
ACCOMPANIED BY SOME GUARANTEE THAT THE US WILL NOT BE FACED
WITH FACTS ACCOMPLISHED ON ISSUES OF LEGITIMATE CONCERN TO IT.
STRAUSZ-HUPE

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